1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P. 148-H]

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Possessed *t'iao t'ung* and his assistant recording "god's words."

Matsu procession: a successful call for rain.

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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highly respected. When a letter from a relative in the city arrives, most villagers must go to one of their literate neighbors to have it read.

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Today, most village children do complete primary school. Kuo-Yu (Mandarin) is used almost immediately from the first year, even in the rural primary schools. Primary school graduates and those in the lower grades can therefore speak Mandarin. In addition, because of the increased contacts with urban centers and also with Mandarin speakers in the rural areas, most of the young people retain a speaking knowledge of Mandarin. This holds true even for the majority, who remain in the villages and do not go on to middle school.

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However, the ability to read Chinese characters is frequently not retained for very long. Primary school graduates can usually read simple texts, although much of this material is often memorized. Even those who do fairly well in reading forget characters very quickly unless they go on to middle school or continue to take an interest in reading after graduation. The reading of simple material soon becomes difficult with lack of practice.

Unfortunately, the primary schools, whose books and courses of study are furnished by the provincial government, make no attempt to teach the children material which would equip them to read simple agricultural magazines. Consequently, the upper classmen or primary school graduates who try to read *Harvest Magazine*, a useful agricultural magazine for the farm population, have found even this simplified though specialized material frustrating. Most of the young people who do make an attempt soon give up and all too often read almost nothing at all. The end result is that several years after they graduated from primary school, many of these young people are again functionally illiterate.

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In Hsin Hsing village only a few primary school graduates go on to junior and finally senior middle school each year. They usually go to a community school in Lukang, since it is located close to the village. Students attending this school can live at home and make the three-mile trip each way by bus or bicycle. During the period of this research, the two Hsin Hsing village girls attending middle school went to the Lukang school, along with three boys from the village. A few other boys attended middle schools near Chang-hua, less than ten miles from the village, and one village boy was studying at a middle school in Taichung about twenty-five miles away. The boys at the Chang-hua and Taichung schools had to live away from home.

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The Lukang middle school gives a general education; the one near Chang-hua gives specialized training in agriculture; the Taichung school is considered academically superior to the others. All middle schools, however, charge tuition and can be entered only after passing

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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the ancestors are all considered both important and fundamental to correct behavior. Aptly expressing a rather general feeling, one villager said, "Everyone knows it's natural to act this way. What other way is there to act?"

The development of this attitude is promoted chiefly by examples in everyday life which are a part of a child's general upbringing. Children are frequently told stories which emphasize the rewards of filial and virtuous behavior. The scrolls displayed and the stories told by the *tao shih* during funerals (see Chapter 7) contribute greatly to the indoctrination. In addition, the use of formal kinship terminology constantly reminds children of the importance of proper behavior towards their superiors or elders. Terms of respect (utilizing kinship terminology) which take into account the relative age and generation of all relatives and even friends and neighbors are learned early and indicate the way one person is expected to act toward another.

Children and adults are also constantly reminded of the "moral way" by door hangings whose elaborate calligraphy exhorts them to proper behavior as well as wishing them good fortune. While most villagers cannot actually read the characters, they know what they mean. These scrolls are usually purchased in Lukang; nowadays many of them bear anti-Communist, nationalistic slogans which mean little to most of the villagers who buy them.

The schools consistently emphasize many of the basic traditional moral values. Textbooks present stories about acts of filial piety or respect for elders and those in authority and emphasize the value of reasonableness, compromise, and cooperation, and, of course, patriotism and even extreme nationalism. In addition, special topics or themes are stressed during certain weeks. For example, the schools observe "filial piety week," during which they stress obedience and respect for age, teachers, and parents. Other weeks are devoted to the importance of love and charity, respect for country, and the national flag. Thus, we find the moral and ethical teachings of Confucianism constantly reaffirmed in everyday life.

Ancestor Worship

Ancestor worship, which is closely related to Confucianism and the mystique of filial piety, and whose rituals actually reinforce it, is a form of religious belief to which virtually all Hsin Hsing area villagers adhere. The believers are not, however, in agreement about the effect ancestors have on the lives of their descendants. Many in Hsin Hsing do not agree that ancestors provide positive aid to their descendants, but few would deny the misfortunes that are sure to fall if neglected ancestors vengefully fail to protect their unfilial descendants from the many negative spirits.

Since ancestral spirits live in the other world much as they did in

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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plained easily or cured quickly by present-day medicine, or for any other problem in which the cause is believed to be supernatural. 756

The *t'iao t'ung* also sometimes deals in divination while in a trance. At such times the god speaking through him may, for example, give advance notice of future events such as the visit of a "guest god" from a distant area like the mainland of China or even some coming change in the life of a villager or in the village itself. [787]

Perhaps the most important specialist in divination, however, is the geomancer. As we have noted earlier, he determines the auspicious time and place for important events like marriage, burial, or building a new house. He does this through the use of his special almanac, which is based on astrology, the conceptions of Yin-Yang, the Five Elements, and so on. The geomancer himself is usually an ordinary man, very often a farmer, whose divining activities are performed in his spare time for a small fee. He has generally been trained by an older geomancer, very often a relative. The training consists mainly in gaining a mastery of the uses of the almanac and in acquiring a familiarity with the formalities and proper sequences of the events which he must give advice about. One geomancer in Hsin Hsing village is scarcely literate, yet he has apparently mastered enough knowledge about his almanac's contents and the proper sequences of events to be employed frequently, especially in surrounding villages outside of Hsin Hsing. Hsin Hsing villagers, however, seem to prefer to call in an outside geomancer rather than to consult their own fellow villager. The villagers' awareness of the relative illiteracy of geomancers in general (who are nevertheless still called in for consultation) makes one suppose that the formal qualifications of the practitioner are less important than his acceptance as a recognized geomancer. His powers may not be considered to depend entirely on the amount of formal training he has had, or his function in relieving the members of the family from the responsibility of making a difficult decision may be sufficiently valued to make his actual qualifications unimportant in their eyes. 791 [212]

Other kinds of diviners, fortune-tellers, or people who are said to be able to communicate with the dead can be found in Lukang and other such towns and cities. Fortune-tellers are frequently itinerant, and occasionally pass through the villages offering their services.

When a fortune-teller happens to come through the village, it is not unlikely that he has heard that some family there has a problem in which a fortune-teller may be of assistance. In Hsin Hsing, for example, the very wealthy K'ang landlord family had nine daughters and two sons. Apparently, it was generally known that the family would like to give one daughter out for adoption, but was hesitating to do so for fear they would be criticized. It was at this point that a fortune-teller "happened" to come to the village and offer his service to the 791 597 626

including a bottle works and a packing plant; and at about the same time a flour mill was built in nearby Shantzuchiao. More recently, a drug factory employing nearly a hundred people was built in Hsulin, and since the war a textile industry has developed in the market town of Panchiao. Although there are still not enough positions for all those seeking employment, these developments have at least created for some village men the possibility for something other than an agricultural income.

At about the same time as these new resources were developing, the need for something other than an income from agriculture was becoming pressing in Hsiachichou. Within thirty years of their occupation of Taiwan, the Japanese colonial government introduced a broad and highly effective medical program with the inevitable result that the infant mortality rate over the succeeding twenty years fell dramatically. Thus while new opportunities for employment were being created the future work force was increasing at a rapid rate. Even then, however, these developments would not have had a substantial effect upon the village had it not been for one further change. To work in the drug factories or the textile mill at least a minimum of education is required, and without such education the villagers might never have been able to compete with more urban dwellers for employment opportunities. Fortunately an elementary school was established in Chichou in the first decade of this century, so that by the time the shift in economy took place the majority of the male villagers were at least literate.

some Taiyal, an aboriginal language. Five villagers speak Hakka. One Mainlander speaks Cantonese and another Hainanese, although both men speak Mandarin as well. Only the Hakka girl who arrived in the village as a bride during our stay spoke absolutely no Taiwanese. She was bilingual in Hakka and Mandarin and her husband, in Taiwanese and Mandarin. Although living in an extended household, she refused to learn any Taiwanese and was unable to converse with her mother-in-law. It does appear that Mandarin is becoming a significant secondary language in spite of some resistance. At present, villagers consider both literacy and fluency in Mandarin as requisite for political office, even on the local level.

Official government figures place the illiteracy rate at 23.1% (China Yearbook, 1967:102) but this is probably greatly underestimated. Everyone in elementary school, even a first grader, is classified as literate while those under six are eliminated as usual. If just the population over 14 is considered, illiteracy exceeds 34%. Moreover, everyone who has completed elementary school (six years) is classified as literate. Functional illiteracy is found in the United States among high school graduates, particularly in the big city ghetto and remote southern rural areas. Chinese is a much more difficult language in which to attain and retain literacy than English (Fairbank and Reischauer, 1958:42). I gave simple

212 sixth-grade level material to a sample of villagers beyond age twenty who were primary school graduates. Although many were unable to read even half of it, several ran through it very quickly and easily. Functional illiteracy therefore is probably much higher than official [562] figures indicate, particularly in rural areas. Illiteracy is probably also higher among women than among men. Men are more apt to work where continued reading is necessary and this helps to maintain facility. Also, although school attendance is now equal for both sexes, more males than females attended schools in the past.

Clothing

291 177 Today, the clothing in Sanlei tends to be predominantly Western in form. Ready-made clothes are purchased in town or from itinerant peddlers. A village seamstress makes others.

291 177 A small child wears a kind of jumper, split at the crotch, so that when he squats, the split widens allowing 56 elimination without soiling his clothes. A standard uni- [855] form is worn to school: khaki trousers and shirts for [514] boys, skirts and blouses for girls, tennis shoes for both. In warm weather, except for school, most children go barefoot. On the way home from school, children may carry their school bags on one shoulder and tennis shoes slung over the other.

121 faction (discussed later in this Chapter) for several
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571 years although, as previously stated, the li leadership changed from "traditional" to "progressive" and back. The internal differences are relatively swallowed so as to present a united front at each succeeding level.

Local Officers and Procedures

632 The mayor is responsible for organizing corvee labor for civic improvement. He is also extremely influential in li-wide social and religious affairs for, although each of these has its own independent organizing committee, he is often an ex officio member and is usually an important advisor. It is helpful if the mayor has good relations in town so that political figures will be sympathetic to the community. For example, when an assessor [731] is sent from town to lower taxes in the event of a natural disaster, it is considered best if he already has positive feelings towards the village and a friendly attitude towards village leaders.

As can be seen from the above requirements, the mayor must be a persuasive man to be truly effective. Basic qualifications for office include literacy and flu- [212] [191] ency in Mandarin. Although there are no wealth require- [55] ments for office and Talei Li has never had more than one resident whose primary income was derived from rent, no poor man such as a farm laborer has ever held a high

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Very few villagers are educated beyond the compulsory six years although the government is now planning a change from six to nine years of compulsory education.[1] This change too will have a major effect on the typical life cycle for entrance into the labor market (and achievement of young adult status) will be delayed an additional three years. The immediate direct effects on the economics of village life are obvious but there will undoubtedly be concomitant social and cultural effects. For example, at present, boys do not start smoking until their formal education is completed. Even if a boy's age cohorts are working and smoking, the village boy still in school does not. If education is extended three more years, boys will probably not start smoking, on the average, until they are three years older than the present beginning age.

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The effects resulting from a change in the length of compulsory education suggested above are more than mere idle speculations, they are derived by extensions of a process which has already been realized in the last twenty years. [212] Among people over age 70 still living in the village, there is only one literate person, a male. He claimed that when he was a young man, although the village population exceeded 250, only about 15 people attended the local school, only two of them girls. As a clear demonstration of a pattern change, at the time of the study, there were only three village children (one male, two female) of appropriate ages not

121 562 inaccurate) is true; although change is endemic, the data in Sanlei is consistent with concrete data in the traditional literature in spite of the many converse generalizations.

562 871 It is supposedly a Chinese value that women in traditional China should not be educated (Fairbank, 1958:30; C. K. Yang, 1959:111; Chiu, 1966:19). Currently, education in Sanlei village is compulsory for a full six years for boys and girls alike. One of the three junior high school graduations ever achieved by Sanlei residents is a female. Even eighty years ago, two of the fifteen village children [212] in school were girls. One of the original female settlers was semi-literate and was said to possess a fine form for [178] characters.[2] Although change to near equality of educational opportunity has occurred (See Chapter VIII), it was not from an initial position of total denial of education for females. Rather, females went from a minority position in education to one of near equality with males.

We are unable to fully assess the nature of Sanlei villagers' attitudes towards the education of women in the [582] past but we can attempt an educated guess. Today for instance, although it is felt that education is more important for males, any man who goes beyond elementary school should [581] not marry an illiterate woman. This belief is related to the general proposition advanced in the section on marriage (Chapter VIII) that spouses should not be extremely different from each other in any major attribute[3] such as

562 popularity, beauty, intelligence, wealth, etc. This proposi-
871 tion was also strong in the past but we cannot be sure if
[591] education at that time was one of the qualities designated for minimal disparity.

562 We do have evidence from history and literature that
871 among the wealthier classes in society, there were many edu-
194 cated females. Indeed, Herbert points out that "in the
212 Great Chinese Encyclopedia out of 1628 volumes, 376 are de-
[565] voted to famous women." Seven deal with "the literary productions of women" (1965:227). This kind of evidence is only partially supportive because the relationship between the patterns of the Great Tradition of the wealthier classes and the Little Tradition of the village is only problematical.

It is granted that there is still a disparity between rates of literacy among men and women although the percentage of literacy historically was low for both. In a survey conducted in North China in 1930 among 400 farm families, Gamble found that the literacy rate of 25% among men age 41 to 50 was more than 30 times as high as the rate among women in the same age bracket. These figures, suggesting an educational system operating between 1890 and 1900,[4] clearly indicate discrimination but do not suggest total
562 denial of educational opportunities for females. The dif-
871 ferences in rates may well merely reflect the uses to which
182 education could be put. Education was expensive in terms

000 3 The basis of the relationship between the tea farmer and tea processor is much more than an economic one and is considered more fully in Chapter VI.

4 Rice is the general term for all food in the same sense that bread is use in the Western world as illustrated by the phrase, "Give us this day our daily bread."

5 The hu (household) is more adequately defined in Chapter V where it is contrasted with the chia (family).

6 Patrilocal and matrilocal are employed with traditional meanings. The local variations are considered more fully in Chapter V.

Chapter IV: Formal Social Organization and Social Control

1 In the recent election of December 20, 1969, several additional seats in the National Assembly and the Legislative Yuan were assigned to Taiwan.

2 Subsequent to the study, Taipei was detached from the province and made a "Special Municipality" which is virtually equal to provincial status.

3 For more details on the pao chia system, see Note 6 to Chapter II.

[556] 4 Most people who have enjoyed any reasonable level of financial success have invested in land. A minimal level of financial success appears to be a criteria for a leadership position. Since one goal of a man is to earn a living, by definition, a poor man must be considered ineffective and how could an ineffective man be a village leader?

5 For an extended discussion of Kan Ch'ing and its effects on Chinese social structure see Fried (1953: 102-3).

• [212] [422] 6 A "chop" is a block on which the owner's name (in characters) is carved and which is dipped into an ink pad and used to stamp signatures on documents. It is considered to be more binding than a hand written signature and is the usual form which appears on checks and legal documents.

[787] 7 The means of interpreting the shen pei which are used to question the gods are discussed more fully in Chapter VII.

Chapter V: Kinship

1 Although considered briefly in Chapter VII, for further elaboration, see Hsu (1949), C. K. Yang (1967) or L. Thompson (1964:34-53).

2 Where possible, this will be a kinship term such as son, brother's wife, etc., but if there is no kinship relationship, the listing will be "live together."

3 Although Lang uses the term "joint family," it appears that her explanations are more in accord with the